

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## The Family Front

By VERA BRITTAIN

On September 18 Sir Samuel Hoare made a speech to his constituents (of whom the author of this article is one) in which he used words which recalled the solemn utterances of the Pope on the 25th anniversary of his ordination as a Bishop.

This pronouncement, which was quoted here, and must have impressed many as the gravest injunction ever given to a generation throughout the centuries of modern history, declared that behind the war front rose another huge front, the front of family anguish. The Pope added:

*We should like to address a fatherly warning to the rulers of nations. The family is sacred. It is the cradle of children, and also of the nation, of its force and its glory. Do not let the family be alienated or diverted from the high purpose assigned to it by God...*

*We think of the separation between husbands and wives, and of the destruction of family life; of famine and economic misery. There are heart-breaking and unending examples of every one of these. This is one of the most terrific and terrible things which has ever happened to mankind...*

AS the Pope's warning recognized, the family is an essential unit in human relationships, and hence plays a vital part in every form of moral progress.

Though essential, it has not, of course, always been socially and psychologically perfect. Sometimes its behaviour has been tyrannical, as at the period of the *patria potestas* in ancient Rome; and in Victorian England, with its Jehovah-like paterfamilias.

Sometimes it has failed to show adequate responsibility for its younger members, as in certain (though only the most publicized) circles of modern America. But this does not affect the fact that the united family is, and always has been, the main source of love, appreciation, unselfishness; of security for children, encouragement for youth, and gentleness towards age.

What is happening to the family throughout the world today? The Pope's words do not exaggerate the strain and stress to which it is being ruthlessly subjected by the leaders of nations. In England, once a haven of secure and respected family happiness, households have been torn apart in their thousands by the conscription, imprisonment, injury, and death of their members; by the physical destruction of the home itself; and by the wholesale evacuation of children to rural areas or overseas.

Here, in America, and in the Dominions, are thousands of children to whom the birthright of peaceful security and an uninterrupted education has been denied for reasons beyond their understanding. Their mothers are meanwhile urged to put the war machine before the "sacredness" of family life, though this "sacredness" was always the reason given in peacetime for withholding from married women the right to continue working for the professions in which they had been trained.

No-one troubles about two incomes, or five, going into one home when that income is made through war service. Only when it is earned by such creative occupations as teaching and medicine are objections raised. The destructiveness of modern war strikes more fiercely than ever before at the things which mean most to the majority of women—children, homes, education, healing.

### Europe's Ordeal

On the conquered Continent of Europe an even more pitiless family disintegration is proceeding, accelerated by the Allied bombing of Germany and the occupied countries, and by the British blockade.

Many British families have experienced the consequences of bombing; none have known the dreadful scourge of famine, which obliges innumerable continental families to sacrifice everything to the heart-rending scramble for food. No wonder that, in his

REPORTING that the number of divorce suits which face the London Divorce Court Judges this month is the highest number in recent years (about 3,000, compared with 683 in 1940) the *Evening Standard*, Sept. 19, commented:

*The low figure for Michaelmas, 1940, was during the air raids period. Marriage ties, temporarily strengthened by the raids, have since been breaking in increasing numbers. Families have been divided by the call up and the entry of women into factories.*

speech, Sir Samuel emphasized Europe's fear that "although the Allies may win the war, our victory will take so long that European civilization will crash in the interval."

What is this comment but a frank admission by a politician whose responsibility for the war is heavy, that the price of victory may be too high? Sir Samuel does not, of course, draw the moral that some solution other than "ultimate victory" is the obvious route out of the present impasse, and the route for which Europe is praying. He takes refuge behind the statement of an "over-mastering need for speed", which he must know cannot be achieved by the United Nations without a measure of totalitarian regimentation to which this country and the United States are not, and probably never will be, in the mood to consent.

### Growing Suffering

Meanwhile, as we and the Americans try to postpone the moment at which we shall have to confront the logic of history, European families wait, suffer, and die. Nothing illustrates the increase of their suffering by war more strikingly than the fate of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe.

The World Jewish Congress recently stated that of the seven million Jews who normally live in these territories, one million have been done to death. Yet, according to a provisional Census taken in May 1939 and quoted by the Royal Institute of

International Affairs, the total number of Jews in the pre-war Reich was no more than 339,892. (This figure included Austria and Sudetenland, but not Danzig and Memel.)

Little as we know of Europe, we know even less of Asia. But any of us who possess imagination must have asked ourselves many times what happened to the native families of Malaya, Burma, Java and the numerous Pacific Islands which have been scenes of warfare. These families had no responsibility whatever for the quarrels of their masters with the Japanese, yet they have been the chief victims.

### Terror and Despair

Publicity has now shut down upon those scenes of terror and despair, but from the occasional hints still accessible to the vigilant, we can gather a good deal.

We know that the roads out of Burma were choked, like the roads from Paris in 1940, with thousands of hapless refugees. Some, we were told, lay down beside the road to die with their exhausted children. Where are the rest? What has happened to those who remained in Burma?

In Time of July 20, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith (described as "Governor-elect of Burma") is quoted as painting a terrifying picture of the effects of "scorched earth" upon what the Japanese bombs had left of an old and picturesque civilization. "Absolutely devastated... Every town in the path of the Japanese Army completely destroyed (by sabotage). There is hardly one brick left standing upon another in the whole of Burma." The author of this devastation was a Royal Dutch-Shell petroleum engineer named Walter Leslie Forster. Sir Reginald called him "the greatest saboteur in history."

On August 14 Mr. L. D. Gammans, MP, though a critic of this journal, wrote a letter to *The Times* as revealing as any exposure that *Peace News* has ever made. On the subject of "Colonial War Damage" he stated:

There will be damage to private property as well. Thousands of houses will have been destroyed in actual combat or by bombs. Penang, for example, is little more than a shambles... The houses and shops are almost entirely Asiatic-owned, and it is not always realized that over 50 per cent. of the rubber and 40 per cent. of the tin mines are owned and operated by Asiatics.

Mr. Gammans wrote to inquire who was going to pay for all this damage; he did not attempt to describe the fate of those whose property had been destroyed.

### "Lord How Long?"

Where are the scattered, ruined, dispossessed families of Asia? What is the chief sentiment of the bombed or starving families of Europe; the tired, broken families of England; the American families now just beginning to realize that war means the disintegration and decline of the highest standard of living in the world?

(Continued on page 4)

## THE MAN WITH THE VACUUM CLEANER

THE man with the vacuum cleaner deserves a niche. When we came on him he was valiantly extracting dust from crannies and corners of Dick Sheppard House. Tom Sawyer with his whitewash brush could not have stirred so great a desire to emulate. He had borrowed his vacuum from another PPU-er to make the place, as he said, more worthy of the love you were all showing. Well, he showed the love too!

The redemption fund is now at £1,164. 7s. 5d. Croydon got £41 from a "bring and buy" social. They are so pleased about it; but "bring and buy" will go on until Christmas. Weymouth sent its second £10 and says there will be a further £10 at least. Cheltenham says something similar. One Lancashire friend sends a valuable collection of mathematical and technological works for sale.

But for the sake of the several groups which have not yet acted, we are throwing in a note of urgency. The great day, October 31, hurries towards us. Do send us your contribution to 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Alfred Salter  
James H. Hudson  
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PACIFIST COMMENTARY  
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

## "How Fearful is the Tragedy"

THE prospect of a few more years of war should not dismay us, says Lord Hankey in the *Sunday Times* (Sept. 27); whereas Sir Samuel Hoare's fear is that we may "have permanently settled down to a war-dispensation." Speed, says Sir Samuel, is quite vital—"the speed of men and women who realise how fearful is the tragedy that delay means to the millions of Hitler's victims and to the cracking foundations of European civilization."

Sir Samuel Hoare's is the more imaginative judgment. He returns from a European embassy with a sense of impending catastrophe, material and spiritual. As far as one can see, nothing can avert this catastrophe—not even a speedy victory of the United Nations. Indeed, the horror and pathos of the present situation is the irrelevance and unreality of the categories of victory and defeat. The world is cracking, and the process cannot now be stayed. Apparently, we must

let determined things to destiny  
Hold unbewailed their way.

### Extermination

AN article in *The Times* (Sept. 25) reinforces Sir Samuel Hoare's warning. It tells of the measures of ruthless repression, concerted between the German and Lithuanian authorities, against the Polish population of Vilna. The Germans call up the population for labour in their war-industries, and the Lithuanian authorities, with their connivance, see to it that it is the Poles who are taken.

The evidence from the Vilna province, like the evidence from many parts of Europe, gives urgency to the warning that victory must come as soon as possible; otherwise the whole fabric of civilization will be destroyed and many peoples will exist only as scattered remnants.

It is not excessively sceptical to wonder whether victory would mean anything better than a process of counter-extirpation. The record of the Poles themselves in regard to the Lithuanians and to Vilna is pretty terrible. And the hatred between the races is now such that it is easy for the Germans to turn it to advantage. Indeed, the detached observer might say that civilization in Eastern Europe collapsed long ago. Perhaps the collapse could be dated from the beginning of the last war when the Russian armies overran and devastated East Prussia. Ruthless repression of one race by another has been the dismal and inhuman story since the "nationalist" victory of 1918. However pessimistic it may seem, it is difficult to imagine any kind of victory which would put an end to this mutual extermination. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

### Where is the Church?

HOW shall the bloody torrent of this inhuman hate be stopped? What can we do, what can we hope to do in this fearful situation? We create a mirage for ourselves of the peoples of Europe united in hatred of the Germans. Such hatred overflows, no doubt; but the hatred of one people, one class, for another is more violent still. One dreams of a voice of peace calling to all peoples from far above the battle. But who would listen to it?

After all, the voice is there: it always has been there. "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God." If the

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## The Mechanism of War

THE most hopeful among us, we suppose, is now liable to be overwhelmed by the sense that an incomparably huge machine has been set in motion which no human power can stop. An automatic process of destruction and creation is working towards its apogee. A conflagration has been kindled which must burn itself out.

For although it is literally and obviously true that the tremendous mechanism of total war is in some sense controlled by human wills, and although it is strictly conceivable that those human wills might stop the war mechanism, the chances that they will do so are lamentably remote. Though it is more than possible that victory in this world war is an almost meaningless conception, it is unfortunately true that there is enough superficial meaning in "victory" to make it a plausible goal at which to aim. There will come a moment, the one side believes, when the other side will submit to its will. It will no longer have the physical power to resist that will. This is that famous fight-to-a-finish between nations, of which the idea has been probably the most damnable gift of 19th century industrialism to an adolescent civilization; like trading rum to savages. Fiat victoria, perat mundus.

The glorification of the idea of a fight to a finish has become steadily more intense as the reality of a fight to a finish has become more evidently pernicious to mankind. It is difficult not to believe that it is precisely because the idea of a fight to a finish is fatal that it is universally dominant. This civilisation, apparently, has to be destroyed. It is compelled by its own inherent necessity, its diabolical dialectic (of which Frederick Lohr wrote wisely in last week's PN) to destroy itself. And it is necessary that the human mind shall be self-deluded by the idea of victory for the space of time required to complete the destruction.

Perhaps indeed the obscure purpose of this world-war-process is to destroy enough of the civilisation which engendered it to prevent it happening again. That abstract situation could be concretely fulfilled in various ways. It may be that victors and vanquished will be involved in a common destitution such that co-operation will be necessary to overcome it at all. Or the enforced intimacies of alliance on either side may be so exasperating that the "enemy" will appear less pernicious than the "friend." Or the United Nations will realise that in order to achieve victory over him they will have to out-Hitler Hitler. Or the communications of an industrial system based on easy and rapid transit may break down, plunging the world back into a primitive economy. In any one of these ways, and many others, the Maya-veil of ideologies that have ceased to correspond with the system of reality may possibly be broken. For it is the discrepancy between men's systems of ideas and moralities and the real process whereby they live (live=produce their livelihood) which is the mark of this civilization. Their techniques are co-operative, but the cooperative attitude to life is as yet impossible for them. Hence their co-operative techniques produce, in fact, slavery; and their only widespread prosperity is a by-product of universal war. Either they will reduce their technique within their own capacity for co-operation; or, in order to maintain their techniques, they themselves will be reduced to slavish mechanisms, for whom there will be no significant differences between peace and war.

## What Helping Russia Would Mean

Christian Church cannot hear it, and will not reverberate it through the wide world, who will, who can? All the other institutions and instruments are in the control of the national State. The Church, which alone could oppose to the State a higher authority, clamours in unison with the State for victory. The universal Church of Christ, the servant and bride of the Prince of Peace, rides in the iron chariot of nationalism over a prostrate humanity trampled into barbarism.

### Growing Suffering

MORE in the foreground than the accumulating and festering hatred in Europe is the suffering through privation. In the Manchester Guardian (Sept. 2) Mr. Emile Cammaerts records a conversation with a prominent public man who recently escaped from Belgium.

"What," I asked, "is the principal cause of this shortage of food?"

"The main cause is obviously the invasion and the subsequent blockade."

And this M. Cammaerts' friend maintained. It was difficult (he said) to strike an exact balance between what the Germans have taken away from and what they have sent into the country; but "the root of the trouble remains the loss of foreign trade."

Those who speak glibly of not being dismayed by a few more years of war, by the methods of blockade, are incurring a fearful moral responsibility.

### Terrible Cost

THERE is, it is said, great and growing bitterness in Russia over the failure of the United Nations to relieve the terrible pressure upon them. And, assuredly, if Stalingrad holds, and if the holding of it is as significant morally and militarily as it is said to be, the Russians will not have very much for which to thank their Allies.

The military correspondent of The Times (Sept. 28) is much less encouraging than the headlines of the daily press. After paying tribute to the stubbornness of the Russian resistance, he says: "All this, however, does not alter the fact that the Germans have, with only minor setbacks, continued, however slowly, to extend their grip on Stalingrad during the past week, and that the situation is very grave."

But whether very much could have been or could be done to help is doubtful. Scrutator, in the Sunday Times, who has previously developed the view that Libya is the most hopeful scene for an all-out effort—a view intermittently advocated by The Times also—warns against "the popular picture of thousands of British and American tanks careering about an unbarred Europe and summoning its oppressed millions to revolt. It will be much likelier to begin with a heavily assisted and very murderous landing, and pass at once into position-warfare, while our men struggle against prepared defences to enlarge inch by inch and at terrible cost the narrow foothold that they stand on" (S. Times, Sept. 26).

### Grim Prospect

DISMISSING the idea—I hope the Higher Command has likewise dismissed it—that the ensuing deadlock can be broken by a repetition of the nightmare shambles of 1915-17, or by tanks, Scrutator fastens on the intensive bombing of Germany, which (he says) "some people deprecate because they fear Germany's striking back. Indeed, though this seems to be the direction in which men's minds are moving, it offers a grim prospect to the inhabitants of this small and densely populated island."

But, to be honest, it was warfare of this kind that most of us anticipated in September, 1939. If it is only in the fourth year of the war that the great machines of indiscriminate destruction are really to get going, perhaps we ought to be grateful for three years' respite. Or should we not rather deplore the moral deterioration by which we have come to accept bombing to the point of mutual extinction as a moral necessity?

### Russian Mentality

THE heroic Russian defence of Stalingrad will be the theme of future epics, a story round which the Russians' deep love for their country will be crystallized for centuries to come. But the Russian mentality will have degenerated if Mr. Alexander Werth's report is true that "their soldiers and their civilians

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

have one thought: kill, kill, kill, and avenge" (Listener, Sep. 24). But I suspect that this is an over-simplification of the truth. Unless Russian character has changed, and changed for the worse, there are other thoughts besides that in the Russian mind. Indeed, Mr. Werth himself goes on to say:

"Recently I was in a Russian village that had been under German occupation for three months. There was not anything left of the village except some chimney-stacks, and the people lived in dug-outs. There were two hundred people there instead of three thousand. The Germans had hanged several villagers, and, before leaving, had burned down all the houses. When I talked to a crowd of village urchins I expected to hear a tale of undiluted horror. But it was nothing like that. The boys spent their time impersonating Germans, shouting German swear-words raucously, telling how Germans spent their time killing ducks and hens, feeding their faces, getting drunk, cursing the cold weather, and kicking the Russian kids in their bad temper, and generally behaving like grotesque apes. It is small wonder that at the Moscow circus the other night a conventional German couple appeared in the ring pushing a pram with an enormous chimpanzee inside. That's the baby Germany has brought up in the last few years."

Behind all which the fact appears to be that the Germans behave not more brutally than others, but less humanly.

### "Wait for Me"

BUT my heart was wrung by a passage in M. Werth's account of Russia in profundis, in which he tells of the most popular poem in Russia to-day—Simonov's "Wait for Me."

"It is like a letter from a man at the front to his wife. Its gist is 'Wait for me, but wait very hard; never give up hope, no matter what anybody says. And when I return after defying hundreds of deaths, let those who didn't believe I'd return say 'It was just extraordinary luck,' but you and I will know I returned because you waited for me better and more strongly than anyone.' It is simple, it may be naive, but it corresponds to the simple emotion of thousands of anxious women in Russia. It is almost religious: it is religious."

It is religious. Mr. Werth is right. Even in bald translation the words tear at the heart and soul.

Wait for me,

Do not believe those who tell you I shall not return.

I shall come back.

Wait for me,

But you may have to wait long.

## • GANDHI v. BRITAIN •

by WILFRED WELLOCK

THE British Government, supported by the British press, has made two cardinal blunders in dealing with the Indian situation. It has declared that in view of the action of Congress it had no alternative to the course it has taken; and it has represented Gandhi as a malicious and selfish old man who was ready to imperil the safety and future well-being of India by applying impossible and even wicked principles in order to increase his power over his countrymen.

Neither contention is justified. Britain has an alternative, a very simple and effective one—the surrender of power over India. But she is not spiritually ready to make that surrender, and all the world knows it, including America.

Gandhi is the permanent thorn in the flesh of Britain, because he is the only great leader in the world who sees life whole, has a profound conception of human welfare, interprets the material world through the spiritual, and embraces humanity entire in his policies. Gandhi realizes as few men do the inner meaning of imperialism and its soul-destroying nature, and understands the strength and weakness of the British character and British rule.

Thirty-four years ago Gandhi wrote a little book entitled "Indian Home Rule," in which he painted our imperial portrait, and pointed out the most effective way to end our rule in India. His convictions have been confirmed by the long struggle since. The doctrine he then preached he was at the time applying in S. Africa, has since applied in India, and would hope, later on, to apply in India's relations with Japan.

### GANDHI'S PROPHECY

Writing of Europe as a whole, Gandhi made this prophetic statement—in 1908!

This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed. According to the teaching of Mahomed this would be considered a Satanic civilization. Hinduism calls it the Black Age. I cannot give you an adequate conception of it. It is eating into the vitals of the English nation. It must be shunned...

They (the English) deserve our sympathy. They are a shrewd nation and I, therefore, believe they will cast off the evil. They are enterprising and industrious, and their mode of thought is not inherently immoral.

Neither are they had at heart. I, therefore, respect them. Civilization is not an incurable disease, but it should never be forgotten that the English people are at present afflicted by it.

Gandhi is opposed to our rule on two main grounds: its inhuman commercialism and its basis of violence. He believes that, by forcing India into the British system of economy and commerce, Britain has destroyed the natural order of things in India and played havoc with the lives of countless millions of India's peasantry.

We compelled India to become a main market for our machine-made textiles from Lancashire. In doing this we ruined India's hand-spinning and hand-weaving industry, which was a vital part of her village economy. Since India is mainly composed of agricultural villages, the damage done was almost universal.

As long ago as 1913 Rabin-drath Tagore said to me that any extensive development of mass production industry in India that was not woven into the fabric of her village economy would be disastrous. It is precisely for that reason that Gandhi has fought for the return of hand-spinning and weaving: they are essential to the welfare of India's agricultural millions until there is an orderly change in her national economy which embraces the villages and the towns together.

### NON-VIOLENCE ESSENTIAL

On the issue of violence Gandhi is adamant. In his view non-violence is a fundamental condition of good government and the natural law of a well-ordered society. Violence in the modern industrial State is necessary to the defence of privilege, socially and internationally, and the final reply to it is non-violent non-cooperation, disciplined by good will.

Thus, in "Indian Home Rule" Gandhi wrote:

"The sword is entirely useless for holding India."

"Peasants have never been subdued by the sword, and they never will be. They do not know the use of the sword; and they are not frightened by the use of it by others."

"One who is free from hatred requires no sword."

"You (the English) may fear Russia; we do not." When she comes we will look after her.

"You may, if you like, cut us to pieces. You may shatter us at the cannon's mouth. If you act contrary to our will, we will not help you, and, without our help, we know that you cannot move one step forward."

The last quotation is part of a statement Gandhi proposed that India should address to us. He is acting on that statement today.

We have forgotten that between thirty and forty years ago there developed in India an underground terrorist movement against the British, and that Gandhi challenged it with his policy of non-violent non-co-operation, "Indian Home Rule" being written for that specific purpose.

He was, at the time, applying that policy against the government of S. Africa on behalf of the Indian community there. The story of the success of that campaign reverberated from end to end of India, and made Gandhi the most renowned and revered Indian alive. He was esteemed equally for his political and his religious leadership—a combination which distinguished him from all the political leaders of his time, and still does.

### BRITAIN'S GREATEST PROBLEM

Though Britain greatly benefited by Gandhi's intervention in Indian politics in those critical days, she subsequently discovered in Gandhi and his policy of non-violence the greatest problem she had ever been called upon to face in India. The effect on India of Gandhi's campaign in S. Africa was so profound that the British Government, prompted by the British Viceroy in India, was compelled to entreat the Government of S. Africa to modify its policy, and, as far as possible, meet Gandhi's demands.

From that day to this Gandhi has been the greatest political and moral force in India and the greatest menace to the continuance of our rule. Gandhi knows that a degree of national self-consciousness has now been attained in India which has made the perpetuation of our rule impossible. But we are loth to admit this, or to recognize that the achievement is mainly due to Gandhi.

Consequently in India Britain is bringing her Empire to an inglorious end. Doomed in any case, that Empire might have passed out in dignity and honour, had wisdom and understanding been our portion.

The imprisonment of Gandhi and other Indian leaders is a confession that the habit of using power in defence of privilege has become second nature with us, and has even deprived us of the imagination to recognize that Gandhi, having inflicted a heavy defeat upon Britain, is having prepared for him by her a straight path to leadership in India's relations with Japan.



**THE** basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.**  
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:  
**PPU HEADQUARTERS,**  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Some Recent Pamphlets

By KEN G. SHEPPARD

**LAST** week we endeavoured to outline the aims and objects of our Literature Department and suggested that members should become subscribers to our mailing scheme and so be kept informed on all we publish.

While those who have decided to adopt this scheme will know what we are publishing in the future, it may well be that many are unaware of earlier and also more recent pamphlets which are not out-dated by the passing of time or events. This week, then, we propose to draw your attention to some of these.

"The Bond of Peace" Series, comprising four pamphlets under the following headings—

- I. The Human Person and Society. Eric Gill;
- II. The Starting Point of Pacifism. Charles Raven;
- III. Money Has Destroyed Your Peace. Wilfred Wellock;
- IV. The Brotherhood of Peace. J. Middleton Murry—

were published to develop and consider the four affirmations which express, in the view of National Council, the corporate mind of the PPU. These are all priced 4d. each, or 1/6 post free for the set.

### A NEW SERIES

More recently we have the new series under the general heading of "The Brotherhood of Peace"; the three published to date being:

- I. The Unity of the Spirit: An Outline of Positive Thought in the PPU. 3d.
- II. Pacifism in "Better Britain." J. W. Cowling. 6d.
- III. Religion and the Quest for Peace. G. M. L. Davies. 1s.

This series will cover various aspects of the unity in diversity discussed in the first of the series, The Unity of the Spirit.

The PPU and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, price 2d., was published when, by a resolution passed by National Council, the PPU became the first large organization in the world to recommend to its members and others the statement of minimum rights initiated by Mr. H. G. Wells and finally revised by a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey, and known as "The Declaration of the Rights of Man."

All these pamphlets are written round the four affirmations, which are printed in the leaflet The PPU—What it is. 1s. per 100; a general leaflet for passing to the inquirer outlining the aims and objects of the movement.

### STUDY OUTLINES

Study has been catered for in the pamphlets, An Outline for Pacifist Study: Social and Co-operative Method, 6d. and in Study 2: Co-operation in the Pacifist Group and Introduction to Non-Violence, 7d.

Pacifism in Service, produced under the supervision of the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6d., is an excellent pamphlet to be read in conjunction with the two study pamphlets, and offers many helpful suggestions to enable pacifists to overcome the dilemma of how best to serve their fellow men in time of war and yet still maintain an effective opposition to the war.

Of earlier pamphlets still in circulation and still relevant, limited space will allow only a bare mention, although their titles will convey their contents. They include:

- 100,000 say "No": Aldous Huxley and Dick Sheppard talk about Pacifism, 1d. Fascism Comes Like This. J. Hampden Jackson, 2d. What Are You Going To Do About It? Aldous Huxley, 3d. God or the Nation? J. Middleton Murry, 2d. A Correspondence Between Einstein and Freud, 6d. Introduction to the Science of Peace. Bart de Ligt, 3d. The Human Factor. R. H. Ward, 2d. How Do You Know? Graham Howe, 6d. Conscriptio. J. M. Todd, 3d. Conscriptio Christianity. Stuart Morris, 1d. Should a Christian Fight? Max Plowman, 1d.

Postage on single pamphlets is usually 1d. and in all cases is extra, unless otherwise stated. The postage on six pamphlets is about 3d. or 4d.

## GEORGE M. L. DAVIES takes The Long View

**T**HERE is a Chinese saying: "If you would grow for a year grow corn; if for ten years, grow trees; if for a hundred years, grow men."  
Pacifism in four wars has at least taught one the vital importance of peace growth, no less than of peace crops.

In the South African War we said, "It was all the fault of the Tories." With the harvest of reaction against war, the Liberals came in with overwhelming power in 1906. In 1914 the Liberal Government declared war and the ILP began to assure us that it was all the fault of the liberals and the capitalists. By 1924 a Labour Government was in power; but in 1939 it was Labour that was pressing for war. In 1941 the communists were denouncing the war of imperialists and their socialist "lackeys"; today they are up to the neck in it and pressing for a Second Front.

All this repetition of pacifist experience should make one think deeper, if it does nothing else. The kindling of new wars in the very oases of peace might tempt one to despair of the moral sense of man, if it did not drive one desperately to search for a way of peace and a growth of personality that did not leave men and movements dry as tinder for a new conflagration. "If these things are done in the green tree what shall be done in the dry?" Better that the peace movement should be divided from top to bottom and its machinery scrapped than that it should ever again betray its members by "snatch-crop" policies or propaganda which end in war.

I mean by "snatch-crops" the sowing of the seeds of a swift and shallow crop which will not survive a winter, because it has no deep roots in understanding or hope of more than a season's growth. How often, in the last war, the scorn of ten-week pacifists rose against those who hesitated to make a united front with anti-war socialists or communists. How much simpler it seemed to denounce war than to learn the way of peace and walk in it; to fire blank cartridges of sweeping resolutions, to whip up mass-meetings and make piping speeches. But all that betrayed the peace movement.

**I**T certainly was exciting in 1915 in ILP strongholds in Wales to be able to harangue audiences of 2,000 people when pacifists were having to meet in back rooms in London. But crowds are kittle cattle, and ready to turn and trample down the growing corn for their winter feeding. It was the herd-mind that belittled down Keir Hardie in his own constituency and broke the heart of the bravest and best of the socialist pacifists. The price of a convinced and rooted pacifism, like that of Lord Ponsonby, was his resignation from the Tory Party in the South African War, from the Liberal Government in 1914, and from the leadership of the Labour Party in 1939. But he kept the faith and his integrity of witness and his influence will live like that of Charles James Fox and John Morley. Dick Sheppard could not even get a peace resolution through the Convocation of Canterbury, yet he remains for us a rallying point and embodiment of Pacifism.

The condition of being in fashion with the future seems to be a willingness to be out of fashion with the

present. To take the long view, to keep the personal faith is seldom popular with political crowds; and, in these days, the newspaper headlines and their shallow slogans drive men headlong into action—anywhere anyhow—so long as they seem to be "doing something". For the long view of attitude and action, one must go to the historian, not to the hysterics of journalism. Professor Trevelyan has written that but for the attitude and action of John Woolman, a Quaker tailor's clerk, Negro slavery might still exist in America and serfdom in Europe. The men who did not listen to John Woolman in one generation, had to listen to John Brown in another.

The influence of the creative minorities, as against the mass majority or the dominating minority is a central theme of the vast "Study of History" of Professor Arnold Toynbee, who is driven to the conclusion not only of the enduring results of the influence of personal life but of its quickness to reach real ends. The Master of Balliol has said that if the undergraduates of Oxford could get hold of the idea that it is "a little heaven" that leavens the lump, they could change the face of England in a generation; but they all want to be in the big movements. Verily it is the people who have never learned to bake their own bread who complain that the way of heaven is not quick enough or revolutionary enough.

**C**OUNTING heads, and on the democratic mechanism of "one man, one vote" the PPU may muster one per thousand of the constituencies voting strength. Counting persons, on the other hand, who have lived their pacifism, its influence is incalculable. It has in fact won the recognition in Lords and Commons of a legal freedom and of rights of conscience hardly accorded in war-time in any country in Europe.

Others have laboured and we have entered into their labours. The present generation of pacifists, enjoying a recognition hardly won by the witness and work and character of others, may exploit it on "snatch crops", spectacular action, and mere protest and propaganda; or they may explore the possibilities of learning and living the way of peace.

A dozen men so learning and living and leavening may do more to illumine the dark places of mind and life than the hot air of a dozen mass meetings. But the choice of creative rather than coercive and mass methods of peace-making may divide pacifists among themselves as deeply as it has, in fact, divided them from their fellow-countrymen.

Getting down to the roots of the matter is an old story—"for where envy and rivalry are, there also are confusion and every vile deed. The wisdom that is from above is first of all pure, then peaceful, courteous, teachable, full of compassion and kind actions, without prejudices or insincerity. And the harvest of righteousness is sown in peace by those who make peace."

## U.S. Churches Which Oppose the War

**T**HREE major church organizations in the United States have expressly refused to lend whole-hearted support to the war—one of them in spite of a direct request from President Roosevelt—reports the Conscientious Objector of New York.

The annual convention of the Northern Baptists, to which the President wired his plea, had already rejected a resolution supporting the war effort, but afterwards pledged the support of its members so far as individual conscience would permit.

Refusing to endorse the Government's programme, the Presbyterian General Assembly rejected a resolution which asserted "that the cause for which our nation is at war is just and righteous."

A resolution adopted unanimously by the Congregational-Christian General Council declared the war to be a revolutionary upheaval due to racial arrogance, economic exploitation, failure to develop international co-operation, and apathy and blindness on the part of all nations. It recognized that both pacifist and non-pacifist views are honestly held by equally conscientious Christian people.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

## Religious Persecution In England

To the Editor of Peace News

**T**O the complacent souls who, having regarded the persecution of Christians in Russia and Germany from afar off, reassured themselves that such an evil could never befall England, the suggestion that a form of religious persecution is now operative in this country will be something of a shock.

Yet how else can one describe the discrimination of tribunals against conscientious objectors attached to Jehovah's Witnesses, the deportation of a prominent American representative of this same religious fellowship, and the recent action of the Home Secretary in imposing a ban upon a number of their meetings? Here, indeed, is an issue of supreme importance to every Christian, irrespective of denomination or creed.

The generality of Christians will find much with which to disagree in the religious ideology of Jehovah's Witnesses. Their theology is crude and completely ignores the efforts of all of the best Christian scholars throughout the ages. Their conception of a catastrophic inauguration of the Kingdom of God implies a rejection of every attempt to apply the ethical principles of Christ to the normal problems of everyday life.

The irrational condemnation of Catholic and Protestant alike by Judge Rutherford is to be deplored, even by those of us who have been persuaded of the necessity of constructive criticism of the Universal Church. And, finally, even their resistance to war would appear to be based upon spiritual expediency rather than pacifist philosophy.

Yet these objections to a religious ideology cannot justify the Christian in acquiescing in the persecution by the State of those who subscribe to the ideology.

The sins of the modern Church are many, but she is still possessed of some redeeming features. Most noteworthy of these is the almost unanimous recognition of the principle of free religious thought and worship. This principle is operative in every circumstance, and it implies the determination of all types of Christians to defend the right even of their most forthright religious opponents to express their belief through such channels as the pulpit and the press, and to assemble together in fellowship.

Obviously, the actions of the Government against Jehovah's Witnesses constitute a flagrant violation of this principle. That consideration alone outweighs all questions of doctrine and impels Christians of all persuasions to write in protest against the re-appearance of religious persecution in England.

It is not only for righteousness sake that the principle of religious freedom should now be translated into action, it is also a matter of sound policy. For the menace of totalitarianism has not been removed from our door-step. Indeed, many of us feel that it has come perilously near to crossing the threshold during these tragic years of war.

Moreover, totalitarianism is not of necessity catastrophic in its appearance. It may come as stealthily as a thief in the night, flitting a liberty here, and forging a link of slavery there, until its victims awaken too late to a realization of their state of bondage. In such circumstances the Church dare not allow the State to establish a precedent in religious persecution. For today the victim is only an isolated sect; but tomorrow it may well be one of the major Christian denominations; and the day after the entire Church may lie prostrate beneath the heel of a self-deified State.

Personally, I dislike the religious teaching of Jehovah's Witnesses, and I cannot forfeit the right to seek to persuade its advocates of the error in their thought. Nevertheless, as a Christian, I am compelled to resist to the utmost of my ability the attempt forcibly to restrain them.

GEORGE E. AUSDEN

12 Coronation Place,  
Steeple Claydon, Bletchley, Bucks.

## CHILDREN NEED "PROMPT HELP"

**A** JOINT appeal signed by Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. Wickham Steed urging "prompt help for the children of Greece" was published in the M. Guardian, and quoted elsewhere, on Sep. 23:

"In Athens and the Piraeus thousands of them survive only as living skeletons, literally creatures of skin and bone. The terrible mortality among adults has been partially checked by shipments of various foodstuffs from Turkey—with which not fewer than 500,000 persons, mainly adults, were fed at communal feeding centres—and more recently, by the arrival of three Swedish food ships. In April and May there were 110,000 deaths from starvation in Athens and the Piraeus alone.

"The plight of young children is even worse than that of adults. A trustworthy confidential report, received through a neutral channel, states that last March children were losing weight at an average rate of 2lb. a month through lack of milk, of which the supply was rapidly decreasing. No condensed or powdered milk had then been imported for

eleven months, and milk-yielding live-stock, without fodder, was being slaughtered for meat.

"The International Red Cross can no longer get milk from Switzerland. Food shortage in Turkey impedes the sending of further shipments of foodstuffs. The Greek Red Cross has, however, bought some supplies of condensed milk in Argentina and is anxiously awaiting permission to ship them. Yet, for reasons which we cannot fathom, the necessary navicerts are withheld.

"Surely this is a case of prompt action. There is no suggestion that supplies of milk shipped under proper safeguards would be seized by the enemy. Action is the more urgent because the sending of milk and other children's food to Greece might render feasible a scheme to set up centres for children, from Athens and the Piraeus especially, on one or more non-strategic Aegean islands where as many as 40,000 or 50,000 of them could be fed and cared for."

Some newspapers added support to this plea.

In two months nine out of every ten babies born in Athens died of starvation, according to a News Chronicle report, Sep. 24.



## RUDOLF GROSSMAN

worked for peace through years of persecution and suffering, then

## DIED ON WAY TO LIBERTY

WE regret to report the death of Rudolf Grossman (also known as Pierre Ramus) who was our correspondent in Vienna from the early days of Peace News until the invasion of Austria in 1938. He was also leader of the Austrian anarchist movement and for twenty years an ardent worker for the War Resisters' International.

His death from a heart attack, reported by the WRI in the War Resister, took place on May 27, at sea—one week after he sailed from Casablanca to join his wife in Mexico.

He was the first and most faithful of a number of correspondents abroad who helped Peace News to build up a unique overseas news service. He continued his work for the paper despite increasing difficulties in transmitting "copy," which he found an ingenious way to overcome.

When the German army entered the country his life was endangered and for some months he was in hiding.

### REAL-LIFE ADVENTURE

"After extremely difficult and dangerous experiences," says the War Resister, "he managed to get into Switzerland, but not having all the necessary papers, certain difficulties again arose for him in that country." (We may add from our own knowledge that could an account of those experiences be published, they would rival any work of fiction.)

From Switzerland Rudolf Grossman reached France and resumed his messages to Peace News for a time.

"There he lived for some time with one of his married daughters in Paris," says the War Resister, "but as circumstances became more and more difficult, his daughter and her husband had to seek refuge in Switzerland and he went to Nantes."

"With the outbreak of war, as an Austrian refugee in France, Rudolf Grossman was interned for many months, and suffered extreme privations which seriously affected his health."

### FELLOW WAR RESISTER HELPED

"When France fell his position became critical again, and it became necessary for him to leave that country, but again, with no papers, further perplexities arose. Through the help, however, of our Spanish Council member, Rudolf Grossman got into Spain and was there for some weeks, but eventually crossed into French Morocco and settled in Casablanca."

"As an alien his position here was not easy, and he was in and out of internment camps. All this time his health, never good, was gradually failing, but he kept in touch and continued to write courageously, looking forward to the time when he would be able to work with us once more."

Mrs. Grossman has written to the WRI: "It is very tragic, that he died just on the way to live in liberty, hoping to be able to work again."

"For Rudolf living meant working for his and our cause. . . All the persecutions and suffering of the last years did not break his spirit."

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## C.O.s The World Over

THE autumn number of the War Resister, just published (price 6d.) by the War Resisters' International (11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex) is remarkable for the information it contains about the activities of members of the movement in every part of the world.

"For twenty years" (writes Harold Bing in an article on "Conscientious Objectors the World Over") "the War Resisters' International, which by its constitution accepts as members only those who refuse participation in war and military service, has had its members and groups in practically every country of the earth."

The contents of the War Resister show to what extent the WRI has managed to maintain contact with those members; there are messages and articles about the position in a large number of countries, every continent being represented.

The August issue of the Conscientious Objector, the American publication devoted to news of COs and the pacifist movement, is as vigorous and direct in style as ever.

It consists of eight pages, with an additional four-page section devoted to the Indian crisis. This supplement is also being sold separately by the War Resisters' League of New York for widespread distribution.

### Case for Food Relief

Food is a Weapon. By Hugh Gibson, former US Ambassador. Peace Pledge Union, 3d.

This is a reprint of Mr. Gibson's article which first appeared in the American Saturday Evening Post in February of this year and which, subsequently, was widely circulated throughout America.

It is doubtful if the case for controlled food relief has ever been better expressed although it is not flattering to learn that for an American to advocate food relief is to risk being dubbed anti-British! The whole question has been more thoroughly canvassed in America than here and this reprint is of inestimable value. I read a copy and passed it on: may every reader of this notice do likewise.

H. P. FOWLER

### COs AMONG JAPANESE

An experimental unit of ten American COs is to be allowed to work in the "relocation centres" in which Japanese nationals in USA have been segregated. The centres are short of teachers and social workers and this way of meeting the need may be further developed if the first unit proves successful.

A group of 24 pacifist volunteers is also working as orderlies in New York hospitals under the auspices of the Quaker Emergency Service. Their sincerity and conscientiousness is reported to have won for them the praise not only of hospital authorities but also of high government officials who formerly were opposed to using COs in this type of work.

### "Message from Prison"

"A Message from Prison" is the title of a statement just issued by "a group of absolutist COs who have recently undergone, or are still undergoing, varying sentences of imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs." They are concerned to advise those about to enter prison for the first time to attempt no adjustment of their attitude toward the principle of conditional exemption until the initial mental effect of imprisonment has worn off.

It is hoped that the statement will appear in a forthcoming issue of the CBCO Bulletin; anyone wishing to receive a duplicated copy immediately should apply (enclosing stamped envelope) to John Cowling, c/o Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, by whom it is being distributed on behalf of the group.

When George Dutch, of Romford, a prominent member of the Co-operative movement and a CO of the last war, appeared at Romford Police Court on September 24, he was charged with failing to register for fire-watching under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1941. George Dutch was fined £5 with fourteen days in which to pay.

An Oxford graduate, Charles W. Perring, of Kensington, was turned down at the tribunals and, after receiving several medical notices, was summoned to appear at Oxford Police Court on Sept. 15. On the previous day, however, he told his sister that he did not intend to join up or go to prison and would find a way out. Later on the same day he threw himself from the roof of his parents' flat in Kensington and was killed. At the inquest on Sept. 18 a verdict was brought in that Charles Perring took his life while the balance of his mind was disturbed.

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### LITERATURE, &c.

**QUAKERISM.** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### MEETINGS, &c.

**HARROW, Friends' Meeting House, Raynors Lane.** Bring and Buy Sale and Social, 6.30 p.m. Oct. 3.

**HOLY CROSS, Cromer St., St. Pancras.** Sun., Oct. 4, 11 Rev. P. L. D. Chamier; 6.30 Rev. R. H. Le Messurier.

**LUNCH HOUR ADDRESS, Tues., Oct. 6,** at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, at 1.20 p.m. Margaret Harvey on "Life and Freedom."

**NOTTINGHAM.** Public Meeting on "Food Relief for Europe." Alex. Wood and Stuart Morris. 7.30 p.m. Fri., Oct. 9. Friends' Meeting House, Friar Lane.

### PERSONAL

**PACIFIST.** training for post-war reconstruction and specially studying Norway, would like to contact others interested in that country. Box 520 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**ROBERT HOCKLEY, Southampton.** Messages for Bob during his imprisonment will be included in letters allowed; also news of him given. Write Jack Rabbetta, 2 Highfield Cres., Southampton.

**WOULD MY Oldbury friend send along my account.** Aston, Kent.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

**BUILDERS AND DECORATORS** require boy with view to learning trade. Write Box 526 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**COMMON DOWN SCHOOL** requires woman teacher willing to cook. Income pooling basis. Apply, John Todd, Common Down School, Lydeard St. Lawrence, Somerset. Phone, Lydeard St. Lawrence 241.

**COMPANION HELP** required, share home with lady (84) and daughter. Modern house, additional help. Pacifist welcomed. Write Miss Bradley, 11 Meadow Way, Farnborough Pk., Kent.

## VERA BRITTAIN

(Continued from page 1)

It does not need much imagination to conclude that the prayer of all these households, rising to a volume of anguish with each new month of the war, has become only three words—"Lord, how long?" It is the cry of every mother parted from her children, every man and woman interned in camp or prison, every boy and girl whose vital years of preparation for life are threatened by acute danger or passed in weary frustration.

The politicians to whom this war has brought leadership and power will naturally turn, as long as they dare, a blind eye to that suffering and a deaf ear to that cry. But Sir Samuel Hoare, who leads a more detached life than our political leaders, has undoubtedly heard it.

I suspect that he is giving the United Nations a strong hint to abandon their customary attitude of contempt when the next "peace offensive" comes along. They will ignore this hint at their peril. All that we mean by civilization depends upon their capacity—if they still retain any—to perceive the significance of that advice, and act upon it without delay.

### KAGAWA'S PLEA

The following letter, sent by Toyohiko Kagawa, the world-famous Japanese Christian, to his colleagues in China, appears in the autumn issue of the War Resister:

"Though a million times I should ask pardon, it would not be enough to cover the sins of Japan, which cause me intolerable shame. I ask you to forgive my nation. And there is an uncountable number of souls in Japan who, like myself, are asking for pardon."

"I beg you to forgive us, especially because we Christians were not strong enough to restrain the militarists. Forgive us as we work and pray that the day will come when our two nations will be harmonious in the name of Christ."

### SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

**DENTAL SURGEON,** busy (staff 12), has vacancies for one clerical (fair typing) and one junior chair-side attendant, male or female (beginner O.K.). Male C.O. welcomed if not over his hire or evangel. Eri: 6518, 3472, Tel: 8658.

**HOUSEKEEPER** urgently required for Forestry Unit of seven men. No laundry. Apply Strathwyke, Tintern, Chepstow.

**ELDERLY LADY,** member P.P.U., needs domestic help. 62 Bushey Grove Rd., Bushey, Herts.

**LARGE** wholesale vegetable firm in West of England will employ C.O.s with suitable exemptions as lorry drivers. A clerical position also vacant. State particulars when applying. Box 510 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**WANTED.** Housekeeper to assist Nurse Companion to elderly couple. All duties, help available. Skegness area, Lincolnshire. Box 525 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**WOMAN,** with or without child, wanted to help in Cornish farmhouse. Pacifist farmer. Write Box 524 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**YOUNG COUPLE** (child no objection) keen, capable, experienced. Take charge small Farm. Modern equipment. Delightful house. Cultural and practical amenities. Beautiful country. Write fully Box 523 PN, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. requires temporary employment of some months duration in London. Electrical engineer, but can tackle practically anything; car or van driving preferred. Brown, 12 Seafield Rd., N.11.

C.O. (26) requires job as gardener in Bucks, Herts, Essex, Middlesex; 3 years' experience. Also accommodation self and mother. Box 522 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**DUPLICATING, TYPEWRITING.** Prompt service, expert work, terms moderate. Baylis, 1 Lower Church Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

**FARMER'S GRANDSON,** 19, C.O., seeks improvement; over year mixed; keen to learn; as family. Box 519 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**GIRL C.O.** (landwork condition), requires work, preferably poultry or dairyfarming, near Birmingham. Inexperienced but keen. Russell, 12 Foden Rd., Birmingham 22a.

**PACIFIST,** 39, permanently disabled, seeks light work, preferably with community. Box 521 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### WHERE TO STAY

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